

Syriac-Aramaic words in an early Christian Arabic copy of the Pentateuch (Ms Sin. Ar. 2)

[Voces arameo-siriacas en una copia temprana del Pentateuco (Ms. Sin. ár. 2)]

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Resumen: This article deals with Syriac Aramaic words that exist in an early Arabic copy of the Pentateuch (Ms Sin. Ar. 2) from the 10th century that were translated from the Peshīttā. One of the features that characterize these words is the existence of Syriac-Aramaic remnants, especially in the Syriac-Aramaic words that are not common in Arabic.

Abstract: Este artículo se ocupa de las voces siriaco arameas incluidas en las primeras copias del Pentateuco (ms. Sin. ar. 2) del siglo X, que fueron traducidas a partir de la Peshīttā. Uno de sus rasgos más característicos es la existencia de residuos siriaco-arameos, especialmente en las palabras siriaco-aramneas que no son comunes al árabe.

Palabras clave: traducción bíblica. Árabe cristiano, manuscrito sinaítico. Voces arameo-siriacas.

Key words: Bible Translation. Christian Arabic. Sinai manuscript. Aramaic-Syriac words.



1. Christian Arabic Bible translations of the Middle Ages

Translations of the Bible into Arabic were made during different centuries by different groups and on the basis of different substructure of languages in different contexts.

This is a project that was performed by Jews, Samaritans and Christians. Thus, it is possible to discern in the Judaeo-Arabic translations other translations that were made by Samaritans and a large number of translations that were made by

different Christian groups in different areas and different periods. In view of this, it is impossible to talk about one specific translation, but rather about a tradition of translations, which are different in place, source and time.¹

The Christian Arabic translations belong to various groups: there are translations that were made by the Melkites; translations from an Eastern and Western Syrian sources; translations from Coptic sources; translations that were made in Spain; and new translations that were made in the Orient assisted by Western missionaries.²

In addition, when we deal with the translation project from the viewpoint of time, it is possible to point out ancient classical translations that started in the 9th century and continued through the later generations and newer translations from the 19th century, and even the 20th century.

In view of this, it is possible to divide these translations into two groups: medieval translations and modern translations from the 19th century onwards.

In fact, Christian Arabic Bible translations constitute a unique genre in the Christian-Arabic literature of the Middle Ages in particular and Arabic literature in general. The two prominent characteristics of this category are: (a) it is not an original work, but a translation from another language, and (b) it was intended for Christian Arabs or Arabized Christians. These two variables left their imprint on the language of the translations to a large extent. We find in them the traces of the language of origin in the aspects of sound, morphology, syntax and particularly in vocabulary.³

The linguistic subject gained a monumental research by Joshua Blau on the Christian Arabic grammar⁴, but the issue of the Lexicon of Christian Arabic has not

¹ P. KAHLE, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen* (Leipzig, 1904); G. GRAF, *GCAL*, I, pp. 88-101; M. POLLIACK, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation. A Linguistic and Exegetical Study of Karaite Translations of the Pentateuch from the Tenth and Eleventh Century CE* (Leiden, 1997).

² J. F. RHODE, *The Arabic Bible Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt* (Leipzig, 1921); R. VOLLANDT, *Christian-Arabic translations of the Pentateuch from the 9th to the 13th centuries: a comparative study of manuscripts and translation technique* (A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, St John's College, University Cambridge 2011), pp. 10-42; about new Arabic Bible translations see: J. THOMPSON, "The Origin and Nature of Chief Printed Arabic Bibles", *The Bible Translator* 6 (1955), pp. 2-12; I. SALIBA, "The Bible in Arabic: The 19th Century Protestant Text Translation", *The Muslim World* 65 (1975), pp. 254-263; A. YAFFE, "The American Mission Bible Translation to Arabic", *Pe'amim* 83 (2000), pp. 57-69 [in Hebrew].

³ For more information about Hebrew and Aramaic elements in the translations of the Christian-Arabic Bible regarding phonology, morphology, and syntax, see I. BASSAL, *Hebrew and Aramaic elements in the Vernacular Christian Arabic in Israel and in the Written Christian Arabic in the Holy Land, Syria and Lebanon*, (PhD Dissertation) (Haifa University, 2004) [in Hebrew].

⁴ J. BLAU, *GCA*.

been researched sufficiently yet, and it is still in its infancy⁵. Therefore, it is necessary to identify and document vocabulary and discuss its unique features.

2. Description of the manuscript

Ms Sinai – Arabic 2 of the Pentateuch from the Congress library is a copy of the Manuscript from Saint Catherine's Monastery. It is an entire translation of the Pentateuch and the Book of Daniel from the 10th century. Atiya described the manuscript and listed the division of the books of the Pentateuch.⁶ The manuscript has survived in its entirety but there are flawed verses in every book. It includes an additional leaf at the beginning and a colophon at the folio number 246b.

The Manuscript opens with a lengthy acquisition note, written on folio 1b that contains the name of the author of this note Ṣalamūn al-Ṭūrī, who served as Bishop of Saint Catherine's Monastery. The note is written in a careless, negligent, and un-elegant way.⁷

The translator and the scribe are unknown. The manuscript consists of 266 folios that include: Genesis (2a-81a), Exodus (81b-141a), Leviticus (141b-178b), Numbers (179a-216a-b), Deuteronomium (216b-246b) and Daniel (247b-266b) the last folios are missing.

The material is paper: Dimensions 27 x 16 cm. The script of the manuscript is a Kufi and an ancient Abbasid hand book. There are many scribal errors.⁸

Each book of the manuscript opens with a *basamala*. The book of Genesis bears no name, just the number of the book *نبتدى بعون الله ونكتب اول سفر من التوراه*, and the book of Leviticus *نبتدى بعون الله بكتاب السفر الثالث من التوراه*. However, the other books bear the name and the number as it appeared in the Peshīttā, e.g Exodus is called: *هذا كتاب*

⁵ In my dissertation I dealt on Hebrew and Aramaic words in Christian Arabic Bible Translations: I. BASSAL, *Hebrew and Aramaic elements in the Vernacular and Written Christian Arabic*.

⁶ A. S. ATIYA, *Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), pp. 20-23.

⁷ A. S. ATIYA, *Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, p. 23 brought a short note about this additional comment at the manuscript. I brought the full text in my dissertation: I. BASSAL, *Hebrew and Aramaic elements in the Vernacular Christian Arabic*, p. 18; R. VOLLANDT, *Christian-Arabic translations*, pp. 110-111.

⁸ For more details about the description of the manuscript, see G. GRAF, *GCAL*, I, p. 108; A. S. ATIYA, *Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, pp. 20-23; for the additional folio prolonged to the manuscript, see I. BASSAL, "Hebrew and Aramaic elements in the vernacular and written Christian Arabic", in *Teshūrōt la-Avishur. Studies in the Bible and Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages*, ed. Michael HELTZER and Meir MALUL (Tel-Aviv – Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 2004), pp. 17-19 [in Hebrew]; for a description and the script see R. VOLLANDT, *Christian-Arabic translations*, pp. 105-112.

هعنا وناوب وناونما وناونماهه reflecting its Syriac title: هعنا وناونما وناونماهه. Numbers are named: هعنا وناونما وناونماهه and Deuteronomy is called: هعنا وناونما وناونماهه. هعنا وناونما وناونماهه من التوراه وهو سفر المتناه.

The language of the manuscript is a Mediaeval Arabic, particularly the orthography and the syntax with high tendency to classical Arabic in morphology and lexicon.

3. The objectives of this study

This study takes the form of discussion in Aramaic words that were identified in an early Christian Arabic translation of the Bible in the 10th century MS Sinai –Arabic 2.

Actually, identifying these words and examining them linguistically within a corpus constitutes a partial contribution to the description of the borrowed vocabulary within the genre of the Arabic Bible translations. The completion of this identification requires further investigations of many manuscripts of Arabic Bible translations, which will contribute partially, if not largely, to the documentation of the dictionary of Christian Arabic in the Middle Ages. Moreover, such investigation is likely to shed light on its vocabulary and to enable us to learn more about the similar and the dissimilar elements between the Christian-Arabic texts in the Middle Ages and other layers of Arabic in the Middle Ages, especially between the translations into Judaeo-Arabic and the new Christian Arabic versions.

The question that arises in the study of these words is why the translator used certain Syriac-Aramaic words instead of finding or inventing equivalent Arabic words? Does that imply that the translator found it difficult to find suitable Arabic words? Or is the Aramaic words that he used were common and rooted in Arabic in that period, and that is the reason why he preferred them? One would expect that the entrance of words into general standard Arabic and their adoption would be documented in the Arabic lexicographical sources.

However, there are some unique words in the corpora of Christian Arabic Bible translations that were not found in Arabic literature or Arabic dictionaries. Anyway, it is possible to assume that most of the commonly used words in that period would be documented in Arabic dictionaries, but the uncommonly used words would not be always known to dictionary compilers, and consequently, would not be documented in dictionaries.

4. Foreign words in Classical Arabic

It is well-known that many foreign words entered classical Arabic, before Islam and of course after it. This is a subject that Arab philologists have dealt with it largely, and many researchers have devoted detailed studies to it. The Arab philologists tried to define standards to identify foreign words according to phonological, morphological and semantic criteria, in addition to their private knowledge and information about specific words. In spite of that, there were inaccuracies and lack of knowledge of words that entered Arabic.⁹ Moreover,

⁹ L. KOPF, *Arabic Lexicography*, (PhD Dissertation, Hebrew University) (Jerusalem, 1952), I, pp. 378-393 dealt with foreign words in Arabic and the attitude of the Arab philologists to this issue: the features of these words and the manner of their identification according to the Arabic philologists: (a) the morphological structure: after the grammarian Sibawayhi had documented the patterns of the Arabic language, it became possible to identify foreign patterns that entered Arabic; (b) rare words or rare roots that most likely were not common in speech, and were not derived from new forms; (c) Phonological features – we know about foreign words in Arabic from the book of AL-ĠAWĀLIQĪ, (d.1144), *al-Mu'arrab min al-Kalām al-'a'ġamī*, ed. F. 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM (Damascus, 1990). Al-Ġawālīqī was a philologist of Persian origin. He was the first to write a complete methodical work with an alphabetical order of the borrowed words in Arabic. In the Ottoman period also, there were works that dealt with the issue of borrowed words in Arabic: al-Bashbīshī, (d. 1417 in Alexandria) composed a book that was considered as a supplement to al-Ġawālīqī's book: *جامع التعريب بالطريق القريب تلخيص التذيل والتكميل لما استعمل في التاليف الدخيل* ("The Lexicon of the Borrowed Words in a Short Way: Summary of Appendix and Supplement of the Borrowed Words in Use"). The work is a comprehensive one and includes 1732 entries that are arranged alphabetically. The purpose of the writer was to complete al-Ġawālīqī's book.

The Egyptian philologist, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-KHAFĀJĪ (d. 1658), who was continually travelling in different countries, composed a work called *شفاء الغليل فيما في كلام العرب*. This work followed the previous ones and depended on phonological, morphological, syntactic, and even semantic criteria. In addition, the writer dealt with colloquial words that entered spoken Arabic among groups of the market people and craftsmen. In the modern period, several scholars dealt with this phenomenon of borrowed words in Arabic such as: S. FRAENKEL (*Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* [Leiden, 1886]) introduced, in his work about Aramaic words in literary Arabic, linguistic standards that decide if the word is Aramaic or not. He depended on phonological and morphological criteria and the attitudes of Arab philologists, who sometimes stated that there was no origin for a certain word in Arabic. Fraenkel pointed out that the Arab philologists did not deal thoroughly with Semitic languages but we find in their works references or hints at close Semitic languages. Thus for example, Fraenkel gave witness from al-Assma'i, who made comparison between Arabic and Nabatean, when he said that the Arabic letter (ط) is equivalent to Nabatean (ṭ). Fraenkel gave a lot of significance to the attitude of the philologists who stated this element: "has no origin in Arabic – ليس له أصل في العربية" ("the root does not exist in Arabic"). He also depended on the phonological comparison and joining or combining of phonemes in Arabic, and was considerate to the tradition of the attitude of philologists regarding their decision whether the word is borrowed or not. He raised the question if the formal structure of the word is compatible with the Arab roots or foreign to them. Fraenkel depended on Aramaic

Mediaeval Arabic is multi-strata one, and a large number of its layers were not dealt with by philologists. This applies to the translations of the Bible into Mediaeval Christian Arabic, where part of the foreign words entered.

The question that arises here is: why did these translations not draw the attention and interest of the Arab philologists? According to Knutsson¹⁰, the fact that these texts were not original works in Arabic drew less interest in studying them as the Arab philologists did with other texts written originally in Arabic and the recent date of the Arabic translations.

Actually, this is a genre that was written within the Christian-Arab community and the argument that is included in them is a religious Christian one, which is inconsistent with the Islamic argument. Therefore, it can be understood that these texts will not be given the same interest by the religious Islamic institution or the Moslem majority. Moreover, the discourse of these texts was in Arabic which included borrowed words from Greek, Persian, and even from Syriac/ Aramaic and Hebrew.

Regarding the Syriac/Aramaic words, it is reasonable to suppose that they were known to a considerable part for the Christian community, who were bilingual or

and Syriac literature in his comparison of a certain word to Aramaic. He stated that a large number of Aramaic words were borrowed into Arabic and he showed the Aramaic source according to the abovementioned criteria. He divided the borrowed words according to the different fields of life: household, foodstuff, clothing, embroidery, animals, agriculture and plants, minerals, names of wine and receptacles, commerce and transportation, ships and sea transportation, war and battles, stationery, crafts and arts, Christian rites, and administration. It should be noted that Fraenkel did not mention in his study words that exist in Christian manuscripts, especially those used in the translations of the Bible. He mentioned only those that were registered in Arabic lexicographical works. Many words that exist in the translations of the Bible are absent in Arabic lexicography and also in Fraenkel's work, which is considered a shortcoming despite the importance of the work. He mentioned only the elements that entered standard literary Arabic, but not those that were written in Christian Arabic.

After Fraenkel, Graf published a book in which he described the language of Christian texts in translated manuscripts of the New Testament and the works of the disciples: G. GRAF, *Der Sprachgebrauch der Ältesten Christlich-Arabischen Literatur. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Des Vulgär-Arabisch* (Leipzig, 1905). He dealt with sound change, syntax, and even semantics, but he did not include all the linguistic issues that are reflected in the Christian-Arabic literature. His treatment was limited to a specific issue, which is a part of the broad literature written in Arabic spoken and written by Christians. In 1954, Graf published also a list of Christian words and terms that are common in Christian manuscripts: G. GRAF, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini* (Louvain, 1954). However, this list is also imperfect and lacks exhaustive discussion. Graf wrote also an encyclopedic work about Christian-Arabic literature in five volumes, where he describes manuscripts and printed publications in a chronological way, and according to division between religious sects, different categories and writers.

¹⁰ B. KNUTSSON, *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicium with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements* (Leiden, 1974), p. 1.

multilingual¹¹ and knew and spoke Syriac Aramaic and Arabic, or were exposed to Aramaic as a liturgical language in that period. In view of this, the existence of these words in the texts is not alien for a part of the communities.

5. Foreign words in Christian Arabic Bible translations

It is possible to divide the borrowed words in the Arabic Bible translations into two main groups: (a) Words that entered literary standard Arabic of the Middle Ages, and Mediaeval Christian-Arabic that were documented in classical Arabic dictionaries; (b) Words that entered Mediaeval Christian-Arabic only, and exist in the Arabic Bible translations, but do not exist in Arabic dictionaries. Here are some examples:

Group a: Aramaic words that are documented in Arabic dictionaries and Mediaeval Christian-Arabic Bible:

أَجَار	ceiling
قَلْنَسُوة	cap, hat
قَنْقَل	a grating
إِسْتَار	a shekel, a coin or weight
أَنْدَر	threshing floor
قَنْطَار	a quintal, hundred weight

Group b: Aramaic words that exist in the Christian Arabic Bible translations but do not exist in classical Arabic dictionaries:

فَارَش	goad
مُضَنَّفَة	turban
عُور ¹²	chaff

¹¹ For more information about the bilingualism and multi-lingualism from 200-600 AD, see: E. KNAUF, “Arab-Aramaic and ‘*arabīyya*’: From Ancient Arabic to Early Standard Arabic, 200 CE-600 CE”, in *The Qur’ān in Context Historical Literary Investigations into the Qur’ānic Milieu*, ed. Angelika NEUWIRTH, Nicolai SINAI, Michael MARX, (Leiden – Boston, 2010), pp. 197-254.

¹² The word عُور (> ܘܘܪ) is an Aramaic word that entered Christian written and spoken Arabic. In written Arabic, Rome edition, 1671, Job 21:18 *ويكون مثل التبن قدام العور التي تحمله الديور* (“like chaff swept away by a gale”), See more about the word in Syriac in R. PAYNE-SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford, 1879-1901), II, col. 2841-2842. For Judaeo-Arabic and in spoken Arabic, see Y. AVISHUR, *Studies on Hebrew Language and on the Arabic Elements in Modern Hebrew*,

جَزِي	north
فندقانية	harlot
كُوتين	blouse

Most likely, the source of the rendered Aramaic words is the Peshīttā, which is the standard version of the Bible for churches in the Syriac tradition. It served the Christian communities then and is still serving the Christian Syriac church in Iraq Syria and Maronite church today.

In a comparative examination between the Syriac source of the Peshīttā and the Arabic versions of the translated manuscripts from it, we find that in part of the Arabic translations Aramaic words were copied literally, which means that they were given the form and phonology of the Syriac language, and even in the characteristic syntactic structure of Syriac Aramaic.

This article deals with Syriac Aramaic words that exist in Ms Sin. Ar. 2 of the Pentateuch from the 10th century. This is one of the oldest Arabic manuscripts that were translated from Syriac provenance. It was copied from Syriac and its affinity with the Peshīttā is prominent in several aspects:¹³

1. Interpretations according to the Peshīttā.
2. Additions and omissions (according to the Peshīttā).
3. Identifications of proper names and place names.
4. Grammatical influences.
5. Vocabulary-borrowing of Syriac words.

In two of my previous articles, I dealt with Hebrew and Aramaic words in the Christian Arabic Bible translations. One article was published in the *Festschrift Book for Avishur* (2004), and it included 24 words; the second was published in the *Jubilee Book for Tobi* (2011), and it included 35 words. The two articles included words from the MS Sin.-Ar. 2. However, in this paper, I deal only with Syriac-Aramaic words that occur in the manuscript, and subsequently, I complete the documentation of the Syriac-Aramaic words that were mentioned in Ms Sin. Ar. 2.

A prominent issue that deserves treatment in Ms Sin. Ar. 2 is the use of Syriac-Aramaic words, and transliterating them into Arabic in their Syriac-Aramaic form. This is shown in the use of the names of precious stones, names perfumes and names of spices. It seems that the translator found difficulty in finding equivalents to replace them, and within the manuscript we notice that the scribe added Arabic

(Haifa: Institute for Multi-Cultural Research, The Academic Arab College for Education in Israel, 2011), pp. 299-305.

¹³ For a detailed discussion and examples about these topics, see I. BASSAL , “An Early Copy of the Arabic Pentateuch (Ms. Sinai-Arabic 2) and It’s Affinity to the Peshīttā” (forthcoming).

interpretation above some of the words. Here is a list of the words that were dealt with in my two articles, but without explanation, and the reader is referred to the articles.

Words from Ms Sin. Ar. 2 that were dealt with in my first article that was published in the *Festschrift to Avishur*:¹⁴

pass over	فَصْح الفصح	5	acacia	اشكرعا	1
dove	شفنين	6	flint	طران اطرانه	2
blue	تخلثا	7	mandrakes	بيروح ايروحا	3
south	تجين	8	goat	صفريه اصفوريه	4

Words from MS Sin.-Ar. 2 that were dealt with in my second article that was published in Yosef Tobi *Jubilee Volume*:¹⁵

Chrysolite	تارسيس	17	ruby	سومقا	9
Onyx	برولا	18	topaz	زرقا	10
Jasper	اسفه	19	topaz	يرقا	11
Skink	حامطا	20	garnet	صديدا	12
Mole	ككشوثا	21	sapphire	سفيلا	13
Grating	قتقل	22	gem	تقعا	14
Turban	قلنسوة	23	opal	فنكينون	15
			Amethyst	عين عجل	16

6. Discussion of additional 9 Syriac-Aramaic words

Here is a focused discussion of 9 additional Syriac-Aramaic words that were found in Ms Sin. Ar. 2, but were not dealt with in my previous articles. Totally, the number of the Syriac-Aramaic words in the Manuscript reaches 32. I will continue my discussion from word number 24 and finish with word number 32.

¹⁴ I. BASSAL, "Hebrew and Aramaic Words", in *Teshûrôt la-Avishur*, ed. M. HELTZER and M. MALUL, pp. 137-156.

¹⁵ I. BASSAL, "Hebrew and Aramaic Words in Christian Arabic Bible Translations", in *Mittuv Yosef, Yosef Tobi Jubilee Volume*, ed. Ayelet Oettinger & Danny Bar-Maoz (Haifa: University of Haifa, 2012), III, pp. 95-119.

24) 'a plant' – נָצַב – نصبه

The word נָצַב (Gn 1:11) was translated in the Peshīttā as נָצַב. Targum Neophyti also uses the word נָצַב, while Onkelos' translation translated it as זרעית. Ms Sin. Ar. 2 followed the Peshīttā and used the word نصبه :

<p>ויאמר אלהים, תדשא הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע, עץ פרי עשה פרי למינו, אשר זרעו-בו על-הארץ; ויהי-כן</p>	<p>האדם לאדם, אדם לאדם ומאדם אדם, אדם לאדם. האדם ואתו, ואתו, אתו, אתו, אתו, אתו. האדם, האדם, האדם, האדם, האדם.</p>	<p>وقال الله لتخرج الارض زهرا وعشبا وزرعا لجنسه والشجر ذا الحمل الثمر لجنسه الذي منه نصبه على الارض فكان هكذا</p>
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It's worthy to note that in western Aramaic the root נָצַב has the meaning of 'to plant' and the name נָצַב has the meaning of 'a plant'. So we find these senses in Jewish Aramaic and in Syriac Aramaic. In Jewish Aramaic the word נָצַב, נָצַב means 'a plant', the verb נָצַב means 'to plant' and Sokoloff introduced the name נָצַב 'a plant'.¹⁶ In Syriac, the meaning of the name נָצַב is 'a plant', and the meaning of the verb נָצַב is 'to plant'.¹⁷

It is important to point out that this word that is documented in standard Arabic, but is not used in the meaning of (plant). In the dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab*, this meaning is not stated. The verb نَصَبَ has the meaning of 'raising; standing erect' and the noun أُنصَاب has the meaning of 'idols'.

Here arises a question: why did the translator use this word? It can be assumed that the word was in common use in his environment, and what supports this assumption can be concluded from the classical Syriac Arabic glossaries.¹⁸ Thus, for example, Elia Bar Shinay of Nisibe gives the Syriac word and writes the meaning in Arabic: نصبة. Bar-Ali also¹⁹ states that the meaning of the Arabic verb نَصَبَ is 'to plant'.

¹⁶ J. LEVY, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Darmstadt, 1866), II, p. 428; M. SOKOLOFF, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan – Baltimore: Bar-Ilan University Press – The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), pp. 358-359.

¹⁷ BAR ALI, *Syrisch-Arabische Glossen, von Alaf bis Mim* (Kiel: George Hoffmann, 1874), II, pp. 85-86, 88; BAR BAHUL, *Lexicon Syriacum*, ed. Rubens DUVAL (Paris, 1886), II, p. 88, R. PAYNE-SMITH, *Thesaurus*, II, col. 1268, 2436-2437.

¹⁸ About the appearance of the Arabic forms in Syriac-Aramaic and Arabic, see R. PAYNE-SMITH, *Thesaurus*, II, col. 2436-2437.

¹⁹ BAR ALI, *Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, II, p. 85.

Also, in the Syrian-Palestinian spoken dialect, the verb *نَصَب* has the meaning of 'to plant'. The noun *نَضْبِه* has the meaning of 'a plant'. Thus, for example, people in the Galilee call the small plant as *نَضْبِه*. This noun is common in spoken Arabic among the peasants in the north of the country. They say: *karm 'izzatūn ba'du 'inna naṣib* ("the olive trees field is still small trees").

Al-Bustānī pointed out that the common people use the word (*naṣbe*). However, in the rest of the new dictionaries, they mention this one.²⁰ 'Abd al-Raḥīm mentions that in the Syrian dialect also people use the word, and he points out that it is from Syriac. He adds that this is an early development in Arabic that was mentioned in the governmental divans, and al-Bustānī also mentions it in his dictionary, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, as a standard literary word.

The verb *نَصَب* and the noun *نَضْبِه* are documented in Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic. Blau brought a detailed description of the meaning of the verb in Judaeo-Arabic of the Middle Ages. Also Avishur mentions the verb in his Dictionary of Modern Iraqi Judaeo-Arabic but not in the meaning of 'to plant'.²¹

In view of what has been said, we can sum up that the verb exists in Arabic, but it was not documented in classical Arabic in the meaning of 'to plant'. This meaning was borrowed from Aramaic, and in this way the verb gained a new meaning. Al-Bustānī noted that the word (*naṣbe*, *نَضْبِه*) is used by the common people who spoke the colloquial dialect in their everyday life.

Its existence in the Syrian-Palestinian area indicates that the meaning of the word was borrowed into Arabic through Syriac-Aramaic. In this case, it is possible to consider it an explanation in both the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the noun.

²⁰ AL-BUSTĀNĪ (*al-Munjid*, s.v.), R. DOZY (*Supplement aux Dictionnaire Arabes*, [Leiden-Paris, 1967 rep., s.v.]), and BARTHÉLEMY (*Dictionnaire Arabe-Français, dialects de syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem* [Paris, 1935-1955], s.v.) brought the word in the meaning of 'plant', in the Syrian dialect. On the other hand, al-Barghouthi brought this form in the meaning of 'plant' but only in the literary standard Arabic.

²¹ J. BLAU, *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts* (Jerusalem: Academy of Hebrew Language, 2006), p. 698; Y. AVISHUR, *A Dictionary of the New Judeo-Arabic Written and Spoken in Iraq (1600-2000)* (Tel-Aviv-Jaffa: Archeological Center Publication, 2008-2010), III, p. 71.

ܘܥܫܝܬ ܕܕܝ ܥܘܘܝ ܢܫܝܝܡ ܘܕܦܝܬܐ ܘܐܬܡ ܙܗܒ
 ܘܐܩܪܡܡ ܕܗܒ ܘܐܨܢܥ ܠܗܐ ܥܡܘܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܒ ܐܫܟܪܥܐ
 ܘܐܨܚܝܩ ܡܥܠܐ ܘܡܫܠܐ ܘܐܡܨܢܚܐ. ܘܐܩܪܡܡ ܐܨܚܝܩ ܘܡܫܠܐ ܘܡܫܚܐ.

In Exodus 25:11 and others, the verb קרם exists in Aramaic and Hebrew. For example, in Ezekiel 37:6, וְקָרַמְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם עוֹר, but there is no documentation in Arabic to the verb in the sense of ‘to overlay, cover’.

There is a form of a noun قِرام in the meaning of ‘woolen garment’ or ‘cover’. And it is documented in the *ahādīth* literature: القِرام: ثوب من صوف ملون فيه ألوان العین: وفي الحديث: على الباب قِرام ستر هو الستر الرقيق that has the colours of wool. In Hadīth: On the door, there was a curtain to cover the door and it is a thin cover”.²⁴ In Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic, the word מקרמה appears in the meaning of ‘piece of cloth’,²⁵ and in the Arabic translation of the Samaritans, it was translated into مقرمة.²⁶

The question that arises here is: Did the translator use this verb under the influence of the form of the verb in its Syriac form, which was available to him in the Syriac text? Or was it that the verb form was documented in Arabic while the noun form was ignored, and here the translator is reviving a verb that has disappeared? Or is it possible to assume that the noun was borrowed from Aramaic in an earlier period and here the verb was borrowed in a later time?

27) اسفنيقا (‘dyed red’)

The expression ܠܘܬ ܐܝܠܡ ܡܳܩܳܕܳܡܳܝܡ was translated in the Peshītā as ܘܐܨܨܡܐ ܘܕܢܐ ܘܐܨܨܡܐ. Syriac glossaries bring an Arabic interpretation of the word, Bar-Ali interpreted the word ܘܐܨܨܡܐ in Arabic as جلود اللکا (‘leather varnish with gum-lac’)²⁷ and Bar-Bahlūl gave جلود الحمر من الجلود,²⁸ and subsequently Payne-Smith quoted both of them.²⁹

²⁴ *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beyrouth, 1992), p. 131.

²⁵ J. BLAU, *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts*, p. 541 refers to al-Fāsī in *Jāmi‘ al-alfāz*.

²⁶ H. SHEHADE, *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch, vol. I: Genesis- Exodus* (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 382-383 on Ex 26:31.

²⁷ In *Lisān al-‘Arab* the word has the meaning of ‘red colour’, اللکاء = ‘leather varnish with lac’.

²⁸ BAR ALI, *Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, I, p. 39; BAR BAHLŪL, *Lexicon Syriacum*, ed. Rubens DUVAL, II, 1234.

²⁹ R. PAYNE-SMITH, *Thesaurus*, I, col. 313.

In Ms Sin. Ar. 2, the word was transliterated into Arabic in a distorted form *اسفنتا*. In fact, it is a distortion in transliteration of the Syriac word *ܫܦܢܬܐ*.³⁰ It is worthwhile stating that the scribe of Ms Sin. Ar. 2 copied the Syriac word in its Syriac form and transliterated it into Arabic letters, which was his way regarding several words such as the names of precious stones (amethysts).

In a comparative examination of Ms Sin. Ar. 2 with other translations of the same period and afterwards, it is possible to see that this manuscript transliterated the word in its Syriac form into Arabic letters, unlike other translations that translated and interpreted the phrase. Here is a comparative parallel between the number of manuscripts that illustrates this argument:

Ex 26:14	וְעָשִׂיתָ מִקְסָה לְאַהֲלֵ עֹרֹת אֵילִם מֵאַדְמִים וּמִקְסָה עֹרֹת תְּחִשִּׁים מִלְּמַעַלָּה.
Peshīttā	صاحِبْ سترًا للاحمر وادبا واهصملا وادبا واهصملا
Sin. Ar. 2 (10 th c.)	واصنع سترًا للقبه دقاق من جلود الكباش اسفنتا! وجلود سسجونا من فوق
Sin. Ar. 10 (10 th c.)	واعمل للقبه سترًا من جلود الدكران وتكون حمراء وستور ايضا من جلود كحليه من فوق
Paris Ar. 14 (15 th c.)	واصنع سترًا للقبه من جلود الكباش الأدم الاحمر ومن جلود الكباش الاسود
Paris Ar. 9 (13 th c.)	واصنع سترًا للقبه من جلود الكباش الأدم الاحمر ومن جلود الكباش الاسود
Sin. Ar. 3 (14 th c.)	واصنع سترًا للقبه من جلود الكباش الشقر الشهب قاوة الاحمر ومن جلود الكباش السود وليكن الاحمر تحت الستر والاسود فوقه
Copenhagen Ar. 75	واصنع غشا المسكن من جلود كباش اديم وغشا من جلود دارس من فوق
Sa'adia	واصنع غشا المسكن من جلود كباش اديم وغشا من جلود دارس من فوق
Rome (1671)	واصنع سترًا للقبه من جلود الكباش الاديم الاحمر ومن فوق هذا ايضا سترًا اخر من ادم الارندج
München Ar. 234 (15 th c.) ³¹	واتخذ جلالاً للقبه من جلود السختيان ومن منسول اللكا من اعلاه

³⁰ See Juan Pedro MONFERRER-SALA, "A Greek loanword in Aramaic. Something else on the *Pešīttā hapax legomenon 'espaynīqē'*", in J.P. MONFERRER-SALA (ed.), *Eastern Crossroads. Essays on Medieval Christian Legacy* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), pp. 321-343.

³¹ About this Arabic translation, see J. P. MONFERRER-SALA, "A Nestorian Arabic Pentateuch used in Western Islamic Lands", in David THOMAS (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden – Boston, 2007), pp. 351-368. See also J. P. MONFERRER-SALA, "¿Circularon textos cristianos orientales en al-Andalus? Nuevos datos a partir de una muestra véterotestamentaria andalusí?", in Cyrille

Samaritan وتصنع غطاء للخباء جلود ثنيان محمرة وغطاء جلود دارش من فوق

28) سسجونا ('see cows')

The word תְּקוּשִׁים was translated in the Peshīttā by the word ܘܥܫܝܬܝܢ ܡܚܩܝܢܐ and it was transliterated in this form in MS Sin. Ar. 2 in its Syriac form. Here is a list of other translations that show how the word תְּקוּשִׁים was rendered:

Ex 26:14	וְעֲשִׂיתָ מְכֻסָּה לְאַהֲלֵ עֶרְתֵּי אֵילִם מֵאֲדָמִים וּמִכֹּסֶה עֶרְתֵּי תְּקוּשִׁים מִלְּמַעְלָה
Peshīttā	ܘܥܫܝܬܝܢ ܡܚܩܝܢܐ ܘܥܫܝܬܝܢ ܡܚܩܝܢܐ ܘܥܫܝܬܝܢ ܡܚܩܝܢܐ
Sa'adia	واصنع ستراً لخباء جلود الدكران وتكون حمراً وستور ايضاً من جلود كحليه من فوق
Sin. Ar. 2 (10 th c.)	واصنع ستراً للقبه دفاق من جلود الكباش اسفناً! وجلود سسجونا من فوق
Sin. Ar. 10 (10 th c.)	واعمل للقبه ستراً من جلود الدكران وتكون حمراً وستور ايضاً من جلود كحليه من فوق
Paris Ar. 14 (15 th c.)	واصنع ستراً للقبه من جلود الكباش الأدم الاحمر ومن جلود الكباش الاسود
Paris Ar. 9 (13 th c.)	واصنع ستراً للقبه من جلود الكباش الأدم الأحمر ومن جلود الكباش الاسود
Sin. Ar. 3 (14 th c.)	واصنع ستراً للقبه من جلود الكباش الشقر الشهب نقاوة الاحمر ومن جلود الكباش السود وليكن الاحمر تحت الستر والاسود فوقه
Copenhagen Ar. 75	واصنع غشا المسكن من جلود كباش اديم وغشا من جلود دارس من فوق
Rome (1671)	واصنع ستراً للقبه من جلود الكباش الاديم الاحمر ومن فوق هذا ايضاً ستراً اخر من ادم الارندج
München Ar. 234 (15 th c.)	واتخذ جلالاً للقبه من جلود السختيان ومن منسول اللكا من اعلاه
Samaritan	وتصنع غطاء للخباء جلود ثنيان محمرة وغطاء جلود دارش من فوق

Ex 39:25

<p>וַיַּעֲשׂוּ פְעֻמָּיִי זָהָב וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת-הַפְּעֻמָּיִים בְּתוֹךְ הַקְּרָמָנִים עַל-שׁוּלֵי הַמַּעֲיֵל סָבִיב בְּתוֹךְ הַקְּרָמָנִים</p>	<p>ܘܝܥܥܫܘ ܦܥܡܝܝ ܙܗܒܘ ܘܝܬܢܘ ܐܬ-ܗܦܥܡܝܝܡ ܒܬܘܚܗ ܗܩܪܡܢܝܡ ܥܠ-ܫܘܠܝ ܗܡܥܝܠ ܫܒܝܒ ܒܬܘܚܗ ܗܩܪܡܢܝܡ</p>	<p>صنع زجي من ذهب ورس الازجة في جوف الرمان</p>
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The Translator into Arabic followed the Peshīṭā and translates the phrase as *ازجه من ذهب*. It is important to state that this word does not exist in Arabic, and it is transliterated here from Syriac-Aramaic. The form of *ازجه* in Arabic is written in the plural form (أفعله) with the addition of the definite article *الازجة*. Other manuscripts translated it into another Arabic word. For example, in Ms Sin. Ar.10, it was translated into *اجراس*, and in Ms Paris Arabic 14 it was rendered into *جلال ذهب*, and Sa'adia translated it into *من ذهب*.

30) *سماق* ('red stew, sumac')

The word *سُماق* is known in Arabic as a name of a spice with a sour taste and has a red colour. It is borrowed from Syriac³⁷. Here, in a verse from Gn 25:30 we read:

<p>ויאמר עשו אֶל-יַעֲקֹב הַלְעִיטֵנִי נָא מִן-הָאֵלֶם הָאֵלֶם הַזֶּה כִּי עֵינִי אֲנֹכִי עַל-כֵּן קָרָא-שְׁמוֹ אֲדֹם</p>	<p>ܘܝܐܡܪ ܥܫܘ ܐܠ-ܝܥܩܒ ܗܠܥܝܬܝܢܝ ܢܐ ܡܢ-ܗܐܠܝܡ ܗܐܠܝܡ ܗܙܗ ܟܝ ܥܝܢܝ ܐܢܟܝ ܥܠ-ܟܝܢ ܩܪܐ-ܫܡܝܘ ܐܕܘܡ</p>	<p>فقال عاسو ليعقوب اطعمني من سماقك اي طبخك هذا فاني قد اذيت فمنجل ذلك سمى اذوم</p>
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The Arabic word *سماق* serves as a translation of the Hebrew word *אדום* ('red'). In Ms Sin. Ar. 10, and Ms Paris Ar. 14, it was translated as *احمرک*. Sa'adia translated it as *אלאהמר*. Comparison of the translations shows that Ms Sin. Ar. 2 transliterates the Syriac form *ܫܡܩܩܘܢܐ* with some adaptation to the Arabic form *سُماق* while the other translations translate the word into a common and conventional Arabic word.

31) *هطر / رهطني* ('spices')

The caravan of the Ishmaelites carried on their way to Egypt *וְלֹט וְצָרִי וְלֹט* ("spices, balm and myrrh"). In the two occurrences *וְלֹט* was translated in the Peshīṭā into a

³⁷ S. FRAENKEL, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter*, p. 143; I. BASSAL, "Hebrew and Aramaic Words", in *Teshûrôt la-Avishur*, ed. M. HELTZER and M. MALUL, pp. 178-179.

Syriac Aramaic. Also, in this case, the scribe of MS Sinai – Arabic 2 uniqueness in using the Syriac conjunction that is not common in Arabic.

Summary

The use of Syriac and Aramaic words that are prominent in Ms Sin. Ar. 2 are not common in Arabic, but they constitute a Syriacisms in the text. In view of surveying the Syriac words in the Ms Sin. Ar. 2 as a part of the Syriac sediments in it, it is possible to summarize and say that the translator sometimes finds difficulty in finding equivalents from Arabic that can give accurate meaning to the context, and consequently he transliterates the Syriac word.

The number of the Syriac words that remained in the Manuscript is 32 words. The majority of these words are nouns, and there are only two verbs, and a conjunction. The nouns belong to specific semantic fields such as names of specific trees or names of precious stones (amethysts), colours, perfumes, spices, and names of specific tools. Regarding the two verbs that the translator used أفصح and أقرم in the fourth Arabic form, it is most likely that he preferred to use them under Arabic regular common forms in order to express uniqueness of meaning.

Regarding the conjunction افين, it appeared in three occurrences in the book of Genesis. However, it did not occur in the other books. It is most likely that the translator did not feel that the word is foreign to the target public to whom he is translating. Therefore, it is possible to see it as Syriac sediment that was inserted during the making of translation. The translator is skilled in the two languages – Syriac and Arabic– and probably his mother tongue was Syriac-Aramaic, and therefore, it can be assumed that Syriac words would be integrated unawares during the translation process.

What is the linguistic change that took place in these words? Part of the words was transliterated in their Syriac morphological form into Arabic letters such as تخلصنا، سسجونا، أشكرعا، يبروحا. Another part underwent adaptation to the Arabic morphological structure, and were written in the Arabic morphological form: سباق، طران، كروب. The two verbs were used in the fourth Arabic form.

Finally, it is possible to say that one of the aspects that characterizes Ms Sin. Ar. 2 is the existence of Syriac-Aramaic remnants, and especially the lexical Syriac-Aramaic words, as the lexical interference is generally the most common influence among languages.

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